by a purchase. They are also proud and haughty, and might be unwilling to accept even their liberation, if purchased at such a sacrifice of what they deemed to be their dignity and honor. Were it not better for Spain to take counsel from the past, and to turn to profit the lessons of the history of her own relations, 28 well as that of the relations of England with the colonies of this continent? What has it availed them to resist the wisdom of those statement who advised a reconciliation of their of the relations of England with the colonies of this continent? What has it availed them to resist the wisdom, of those statesmen who advised a reconciliation of their mutual interest and wishes upon the basis of the independence of the colonies? Had she not better bravely face the future, and ask herself if it be not time for her to realize that mighty beast of Canning with respect to what remains of her colonies within the waters of this continent, and to call a new nation into existence? Might she not, by treaty, secure what there is valuable in the commerce of that island with the mother country? And would not this political child of her old age willingly come forth, and, assuming its share of the burdens which so heavily load her, aid towards the restoration of her finances, and thereby facilitate those improvements which of late have marked a new era in the tendencies of Spain, and may prepare for her destinies worthy of her past?

To us, Mr. President, the independence of Cuba is just as desirable as her annexation to this Confederacy. That there is a spirit amongst its inhabitants which must, sooner or later, rouse them to a decisive stand against their present rulers, cannot be the subject of a doubt with any thinking man. The very disasters which have befallen those who, in times past, heisted the banner of rebellion, will be but new inducements for renewing the attempt. Misfortune but nerves those whose breasts shelter noble aspirations; and while great and powerful emotions spring from impending dangers, a host of virtues rise in arms to hrave them.

Let not Spain be deceived. Let her not slumber, wrapt in deceitful security. It would not do for her to indulge in enervating dreams. One cannot repel the invasion of advancing years by the remembrances of youth. Cuba cannot long be hers; and its becoming African would not redeem its loss. We can have no wish that it become a bone of contention between her and us. As long as the Powers of Europe shall not presume to interfere with the relations which i

manhood, claim to be their own rulers, let her not take offence at our pursuing towards them the course which we pursued towards her other colonies when they were preparing for their independence. When a country reaches that amplitude of consequence and power which reveals its ability to suffice to its own government, we deem that it becomes of right entitled to independence of State.

I am also unwilling to disguise that by suffering Eng-

and and France to assume over her a kind of tutorship, and to become the guardians and sponsors of her sovereignty, Spain has surrendered her main title to the dominion of such possessions as she thus places under the strong arm of those Powers. The complications arising from that very state of things are but too well calculated to produce the very necessity which under negative company. that very state of things are but too well calculated to produce the very necessity which, under peculiar circumstances, and with the law of nations pleading for us, might justify on our part one of those decided measures which are not uncommon in the history of nations, and might entirely invert the relations in which we stand to her. This I most earnestly wish to avoid. And whatever there is in reserve for us, in a more or less distant future, I am wiling to leave for the untrammelled wisdom of those in whose keeping our destinies will soon be. But let not Spain be unmindful of her true position, and

think that she can, by unworthy devices, protect her pos-sessions against their impending doom. In vain would she direct her ministers to let the island sink into the ocean rather than see it transferred to any other Power. Should the hurricane rage, the island would still be found looming above the waters, and smiling upon the angry wave, while her sovereignty might disappear in the storm. When the time comes, neither the surges of the sea, nor her forts, nor her cannon, nor her garrotes, nor the edicts Hear the historian: "In vain did Sabinus place ancestral statues upon the threshold of the gates of the capitol, that they might prevent the enemy from penetrating, torch in hand. The very eagles supporting the arches took fire, and communicated it to the edifice."

Mr. CASS said: Mr. President, I should be unwilling to address the Senate upon the general subject at this time, when we have just listened to the eloquent remarks of the honorable Senator (Mr. Soule) who has but now resumed his seat—remarks which I have not heard surresumed his seat—remarks which I have not heard surpassed in this body, either in power or beauty. I do not intend to commit the folly of provoking a contrast under such circumstances; but I have prepared several extracts from several documents touching the question which has been raised of the extent and duration of the Monroe doctrine, and I desire to accompany them with some brief observations, which I will now submit to the Senate, if I can be favored with its attention for a few minutes.

For thirty years the world—at any rate the American portion of It, and a good deal of the European—has talked of the Monroe doctrine, and every school-boy thought he understood, and that it was founded upon a

great principle, that the destiny of this hemisphere should be controlled by the people in the little should great principle, that the destiny of this hemisphere should be controlled by the people inhabiting it, and that European influence should be excluded from it, as far and as fast as existing rights would permit. Mr. Monroe, in 1823, presented, in a message to Congress, his general views of the relations of the Powers of Europe to this continent, as well with respect to their interference with its independent States as to projects of new colonization. To be sure, as has been remarked, these two topics are to be found in different parts of the same message, but merely because each connected itself more directly with different practical measures; but both together formed his doctrine, which was founded on the great principle advanced by Mr. Jefferson, that "America, North and South, has a set of interests distinct from those of Eu-South, has a set of interests distinct from those of Europe, and peculiarly her own. She should therefore have rope, and peculiarly her own. She should therefore have a system of her own, separate and apart from that of Europe." And by Mr. Polk, "that the people of this continent have a right to decide their own destiny."

Mr. Polk, in 1848, when the "Holy Alliance" was a matter of almost remote history, in a message to Congress on the subject of the application of the Government of Yucatan for aid against the Indians, reaffirmed the Monroe doctrine, and observed:

the Monroe doctrine, and observed:

"According to our established policy, we could not consent to a transfer of this dominion and sovereignty either to Spain, Great Britain, or any other European Power. In the language of President Monroe, in his message of December, 1823, "We should consider any attempt on their part to extend their system to any portion of this hemisphere as dangerous to our peace and safety." Our own security requires that the established policy thus announced should guide our conduct, and this applies with great force to the peninsula of Yucatan."

It would be a mere waste of time to comment upon these views of Mr. Polk. They speak for themselves with equal force and clearness, and they were avowed more than a quarter of a century after Mr. Monroe had promulgated his doctrine, thus considered by Mr. Polk as the permanent American policy. The principles it asserts are perpetual in their obligation, and the policy itself challenges our attention and enforcement, in all time, present and

It is now said that this Monroe doctrine, so far as re spects the independent States of the continent, embalmed as it was and is in the hearts of the American people, inas it was and is in the hearts of the American people, in-stead of being a great system of policy as enduring as our political condition, was but a temporary measure, appli-cable only to the 'anticipated design of the "Holy Alli-ance," as it was unholily called, to restore the recently-emancipated American States to the dominion of Spain. Instead of being a great principle of action, worthy of this republic, it would thus become a mere expedient, passing away with the occasion that called it into being. Whether this by so or not is a question which does not touch the subject before the Senate; for that must be de-termined upon its own merits, and not upon the authority termined upon its own merits, and not upon the authority of names, never, however, to be slightly regarded; but touches the fame of Mr. Monroe as a practical and entouches the fame of Mr. Monroe as a practical and en-lightened statesman, for such he truly was; but upon this construction of his views he did not comprehend the con-sequence of his own positions, and could not see that the grounds of his policy extended beyond the single case then more immediately before him. His principles were unquestionably called out by the peculiar danger of the South American States, and by the claims of Russia on our northern coast. These circumstances led him to this investigation into the principles of our position with respect to this continent, and the result we have in this far-famed message.

famed message.

And generally it happens in the policy of nations that particular exigencies call forth the discussion and assertion of great principles; but while the former disappear in the march of events, the latter remain to be reasserted and maintained, under all circumstances to which they are applicable. As the foundation of his doctrine he assumed the then existing status or condition of the continent, disclaiming all intention of interfering with existing rights, but maintaining principles which denied to the Powers of Europe the assumption to interfere with any independent State at any time thereafter, or ever plant or establish new colonies. Upon these general principles European influence might decrease in this hemisphere, but could not increase; for independence once obtained, then and thereafter the States so obtaining it passed from the danger of European subjugation, and would be beyond the reach, not of Spain merely, but of France, or England, or any other transatlantic Power. And I may remark here, as a proof, that Mr. Monroe considered both of the topics in his message but parts of one plan of

policy, that in the anti-colonization passage he makes no reservation of existing colonial rights, but declares that these, would be respected, in that part of the message where he protests against the subjugation of the Spanish states, thus showing the intimate relation of the whole subject in his mind. This inquiry into the origin of this This inquiry into the origin of this truth, to the domain of history, and

Subject in his mind. This inquiry into the origin of this doctrine belongs, in truth, to the domain of history, and not to that of our permanent policy: for the name of the doctrine, whether Monroe, or Polk, or Jefferson, or yet better, American, matters little—the true question being whether it shall be enforced now and hereafter.

But Mr. Monroe, in his message of December, 1824, a year after the one containing the views referred to, renewed the subject, and in such language as leaves no doubt but that this doctrains, in his view of it, was perpetual, and to be made part of our national code of policy. He said:

petual, and to be made part of our national code of policy. He said:

"Separated as we are from Europe by the great Atlantic ocean, we can have no concern in the wars of the European Governments, nor in the causes which produce them. The balance of power between them, into whichever scale it may turn in its various vibrations, cannot affect us. It is the interest of the United States to preserve the most friendly relations with every Power, and on conditions fair, equal, and applicable to all. But in regard to our neighbors our situation is different. It is impossible for the European Governments to interfere in their concerns, especially in those alluded to, which are vital, without affecting us. Indeed, the motive which might induce such interference in the present state of the war between the parties, if a war it may be called, would appear equally applicable to us."

Now, it will be seen that these principles had no peculiar relation to the "Holy Alliance," as it is contended those of the first message had, but they extend to all time, and to all the European Governments. Indeed, we learn from from Mr. Clay, in some remarks made in the House of Representatives in June, 1824, that the fear of the action of that alliance upon these States had given way, and "that if such a purpose were ever seriously entertained, it had been relinquished." Mr. Monroe, in fact, in the passage from which the above extract is taken, considers the condition of these States much improved and strengthened, and his observations evidently bear upon future difficulties, not then foreseen, but which might happen, and would then have to be met. We may yet have to meet them.

Mr. Monroe, it is well known, was in the habit of consulting Mr. Jefferson in all grave conjunctures, and fortunately he consulted him on the subject of his doctrine, and we have the sentiments of that patriarch of the democratic faith in relation to it. These are to be found in a letter from him to Mr. Monroe, application for his opinion.

Mr. Jefferson said:

"The

Mr. Jefferson said : Mr. Jefferson said:

"The question presented by the letters you have sent me is the most momentous which has ever been offered to my contemplation since that of independence. That made us a nation; this sets our compass, and points the course which we are to steer through the ocean of time. And never could we embark on it under circumstances more auspicious. Our first and fundamental maxim should be, never to entangle ourselves in the broils of Europe; our second, never to suffer Europe to intermeddle with cisatlantic affairs. America, North and South, has a set of interests distinct from those of Europe, and peculiarly her own. She should therefore have a system and peculiarly her own. She should therefore have a system of her own, separate and apart from that of Europe: the las is laboring to become the domicile of despotism; our endeavo should surely be to make our hemisphere that of freedom."

Can one man be found who will contend that these no ble sentiments, worthy of him who uttered them, and nov ble sentiments, worthy of him who uttered them, and now become a precious legacy for the American people—can one man, I say, be found who will venture to contend that these words of wisdom and patriotism are temporary in their force and application, belonging only to the passing hour, and confined to the efforts of a league, which, I believe, died before the writer, short even as was his tenure of life? Thus to narrow down a great national principle is wholly to mistake the liberality and far-reaching policy of this the greatest of American statesmen after the first and the dearest Washington. "His ocean of time opening upon us" was bounded by no such contracted

imits. It was a true ocean, and not a mere duck-pond. And this same letter of Mr. Jefferson exhibits, in a still And this same letter of Mr. Jefferson exhibits, in a still more signal manner, the vast importance he attached to this principle of never suffering "Europe to intermeddle with cisatlantic affairs." Why, sir, he was actually ready, even then, to go to war for its practical maintenance. He was far ahead of all of us, and I must confess that I have seldom been more gratified than to find myself thus not only supported, but anticipated, by a name which will live in the hearts of the American people as long as they cherish a reverence for real patriotism, true democracy, and the highest qualities of our nature, ennobled by a life devoted to his country. I can now stand proudly upon this position, pointing to Mr. Jefferson's declaration that he was willing to fight even alongside of England in such a cause: "Not that I would purchase," he says, "her amity at the price of war. But the war in which the present proposition might engage us, should that be its consent proposition might engage us, should that be its con-sequence, is not her war, but ours. Its object is to in-troduce and establish the American system of keeping out of our land all foreign Powers, of NEVER-(not to of our land all foreign Powers, of NEVER—(not to day)
—of NEVER permitting those of Europe to intermeddle with
the affairs of our nation. It is to maintain our own principle, not to depart from it." Any question of the justice or expediency of the first of these resolutions I may
hereafter consider a question between the objector and Mr.
Jefferson, and not one between the former and myself.

The opinion of Mr. Adams, who of course could not but

understand the views of Mr. Monroe, as he was then Sec-retary of State, and of Mr. Clay, who took a deep interthe House of Representatives on the 29th of January, 1824, affirming the non-interference doctrine of Mr. Monroe, are distinctly shown in the instructions of Mr. Clay to Mr. Poinsett, dated March 25, 1825, wherein Mr. Mon-Mr. Poinsett, dated March 25, 1825, wherein Mr. Monroe's message and principles are referred to, and their existing force asserted and assumed. Mr. Clay, while reporting these instructions to Mr. Adams, for transmission to the House of Representatives, observes "that all apprehensions of the danger to which Mr. Monroe alludes, of an interference by the allied Powers, (otherwise the 'holy alliance,') to introduce their political systems into this hemisphere, have ceased." But, notwithstanding this, in these instructions to Mr. Poinsett he is told that the great principle of non-interference "was declared in the face of the world (by Mr. Monroe) at a moment when there was reason to apprehend that the allied Powers were entertaining designs inimical to the freedom, if not to the independence, of the new Governments. There is reason to believe that the declaration of it had considerable effect in preventing the maturity, if not in producing the abandonlieve that the declaration of it had considerable effect in preventing the maturity, if not in producing the abandonment, of all such designs. Both principles (this and the anti-colonization one) were laid down after much and anxious deliberation on the part of the late Administration. The President, (Mr. Adams.) who then formed a part of it, continues entirely to coincide in both, and you will urge upon the Government of Mexico the utility and expediency of asserting the same principles on all proper occasions."

will arge upon the covernment of Mexico the utility and expediency of asserting the same principles on all proper occasions."

What principles? Not a single one so narrow and temporary as to be confined to a mere passing occurrence, to a league which had as much passed away from any operation on this continent as the Grecian league for the destruction of Troy. If Mr. Adams and Mr. Clay did not wholly misunderstand Mr. Monroe's doctrine, it was precisely the doctrine enunciated in the resolution before the Senate. One fact stated by Mr. Clay, upon the authority of Mr. Adams, shows that this declaration of Mr. Monroe was a Cabinet measure, fully considered, and no doubt amply discussed. Indeed, without this authority, judging from the cautious character of Mr. Monroe, it would have been safe to conclude that so important a step would not have been taken by him without consultation with his confidential advisers. And especially as it is known that his messages, before being sent to Congress, were always read, and, if occasion required, discussed, paragraph by paragraph, at Cabinet meetings; and such indeed was the practice of his predecessors.

Mr. Clay states that the declaration of Mr. Monroe had been useful. Still its efficiency was limited by the considerations already adverted to, that it was the act only of the Executive department, which could not pledge the nation to any particular course of policy. Congress alone could do that; and the propriety of its action was so obvious that both Mr. Clay and Mr. Poinsett introduced resolutions into the House of Representatives affirming the doctrine. It is probable that the reason given by Mr. Clay for not pushing the one presented by him to a final vote operated also on others; and that was, that the apprehended danger from the "Holy Alliance" had disappeared; and I suppose then, as now, the difficulty of carrying such a measure increased as the cause of apprehension decreased. We stopped short in our true work, and

peared; and I suppose then, as now, the difficulty of carrying such a measure increased as the cause of apprehension decreased. We stopped short in our true work, and waited for another expedient before proclaiming a principle. Mr. Jefferson also, with his sound practical wisdom, saw that Mr. Monroe's declaration, in order to attain its object, needed the support and authority of Congress; and he therefore recommended to him, in the letter already referred to, that, "as it may lead to war, the declaration of which requires an act of Congress, the case shall be laid before them for consideration at their first meeting, and under the reasonable aspect in which it is seen by

and under the reasonable aspect in which it is seen by himself," (the President.)

With respect to Cuba, I am glad to be able to fortify my position by the opinions of both Mr. Jefferson and Mr. Clay. No man will now accuse either of those distinguished statesmen with being influenced by any other motives than a love of country, and a desire to promote

her interest in a spirit of justice.

Mr. Jefferson, in the same letter, said: Mr. Jefferson, in the same letter, said:

"I candidly confess I have ever looked on Cuba as the most interesting addition which could ever be made to our system of States. The control which, with Florida Point, this island would give us over the Gulf of Mexico, and the countries and isthmus bordering on it, as well as those whose waters flow into it, would fill up the measure of our political well-being. Yet as I am sensible that this can never be obtsigned even with her [Spain's] own consent but by war, [he means a war with England, from her opposition to the measure,] and its independence, [that of Cuba,] which is our

second interest, and especially its independence of England, can be secured without it. I have no hesitation in abandoning my first wish to future chances, and accepting its independence, with peace and the friendship of England, rather than its association [query? accession] at the expense of war and

wrote free institutions throughout the world seemed to have much to apprehend from this Holy Alliance; and believ-ing that England was really desirous of thwarting their views, he was therefore the more willing to act in concert

views, he was therefore the more willing to act in concert with her.

Thirty years have produced a wonderful change in the world since these remarks of Mr. Jefferson. They have produced none in our interest and our desire to procure Cuba when we can do it justly, nor in our willingness that it should become independent. But as to any fear that England would oppose us in taking possession of Cuba under a voluntary arrangement with Spain, or under any other proper circumstances, it is a feeling which will never, I trust, enter into our public councils, certainly never into the hearts of the American people. Events since that period have augmented our power in a mighty ratio, and have taught us to use it when our honor and interest require the exertion. Mr. Jefferson, when and interest require the exertion. Mr. Jefferson, when he wrote this letter, undoubtedly supposed that Cuba would follow the example of the other Spanish provinces,

and become independent.

Mr. Clay appreciated the importance of Cuba, as well as of Porto Rico; for we find, in a letter which he wrote to Mr. Middleton on the 26th of December, 1825, that Minister was directed to inform the Russian Government that "we cannot allow the transfer of these islands to any European Power;" and the same determination was avowed, in still stronger terms, in a despatch to the American Minister at Paris, to be made known to the French

if necessary, at the expense of war.

Third. That the United States nave a deep interest in the acquisition of Cuba, and that if we cannot obtain possession of it without too great a cost of blood or treasure, it must be secured (especially from the control of England) by its independence. And we may add now, since circumstances have much changed, and the immediate dangers then impending over the island have passed away, that it may with safety remain in the possession of

away, that it may with safety remain in the possession of Spain so long as she can hold it, and takes no step to convert it to our injury.

Fourth. That it is proper that declarations upon these subjects should be submitted to Congress, in order to procure their co-operation, as, without it, such declarations might be fruitless.

Fifth. In addition to these propositions, there is another opinion advanced by Mr. Jefferson in this letter which I confess I have read with unmixed satisfaction, for it con-

firms in full the propriety of the proposition which I sub-mitted to the Scnate at our last session, to declare our protest against the atrocious violation of the rights of na-

protest against the atrocious violation of the rights of nations by the interference of one Power, the Emperor of Russia, in the internal affairs of another, the Hungarian kingdom. Mr. Jefferson's words deserve to be held in perpetual remembrance. Here they are:

"Nor is the occasion to be slighted, which this proposition offers, of declaring our protest against the atrocious violation of the rights of nations, by the interference of any one in the internal affairs of another, so flagitionally begun by Bonaparte, and now continued by the equally lawless alliance calling itself holy."

"Here we have the principle distinctly asserted of the

Here we have the principle distinctly asserted of the propriety of a national protest upon such an occasion, and we have the authority of the very author of the expression "entangling alliances," so triumphantly appealed to last session as a reason for our inaction, for denying its applicability to the case; which, indeed, ought to have been obvious enough, without this exposition of his own doctrine, unless it could be shown that we could form ply by a protest against an assumption to prostrate a great principle of public law which protected the freedom and independence of nations. But we could not keep on the line of political knowledge, and shrank from the responsibility imposed upon us by our position as the great republic of the world. We now know that Mr. Jefferson republic of the world. We now know that Mr. Jenerson would have voted for the proposition had he then been a member of this body. That is honor enough for those of us who found ourselves in the minority.

Mr. SEWARD. I have some remarks to submit upon this question; and I will, therefore, as it is now late in the day, and as the Senate may not desire to sit longer,

e country.

3d. That said committee inquire whether the seizure by the French Government of the peninsula of Samana, in the Re-public of Dominica, is or is not a violation of the same great principle proclaimed as aforesaid in the message of Mr. Mon-roe; and if so, what action is necessary on the part of this Go-vernment to protect itself against such encroachments on its

The motion to print was agreed to.

JANUARY 26, 1853. The same subject being under consideration-

Mr. SEWARD rose and addressed the Senate as follows : Mr. President: On the 28d day of February, 1848, John giney Adams, of Massachusetts, who had completed a sircle of public service filling fifty years, beginning with an inferior diplomatic function, passing through the Chief

an inferior diplomatic function, passing through the Chief Magistracy, and closing with the trust of a Representative in Congress, departed from the earth, certainly respected by mankind, and, if all posthumous honors are not insincere and false, deplored by his countrymen.

On a fair and cloudless day in the month of June, 1850, when the loud and deep voice of wailing had just died away in the land, the Senator from Michigan, of New England born and by New England reared, the leader of a great party, not only here, but in the whole country, rose in the Senate chamber, and after complaining that a member of the family of that great Statesman of the East, instead of going backwards with a garment to cover his member of the family of that great Statesman of the East, instead of going backwards with a garment to cover his infirmities, had revealed them by publishing portions of his private diary, himself proceeded to read the obnoxious extracts. They showed the author's strong opinions, that by the Federal compact the slaveholding class had obtained, and that they had exercised, a controlling influence in the Government of the country.

Placing these extracts by the side of passages, taken from the Farewell Address of Washington, the Senator

from the Farewell Address of Washington, the Senator from Michigan said:
"He is unworthy the name of an American who does not "He is unworthy the name of an American who does not feel at his heart's core the difference between the lofty patriotism and noble sentiments of one of these documents, and—is but I will not say what the occasion would justify. I will only say, and that is enough, the other, for it is another." "It cannot, nor will it, nor should it, escape the censure of an ago like this." "Better that it had been entombed, like the ancient Egyptian records, till its language was lost, than thus to have been exposed to the light of day."

The Senator then proceeded to set forth by contrast his own greater justice and generosity to the Southern States, and his own bigher fidelity to the Union. This was in the Senate of the United States. And yet no one rose to vindicate the memory of John Quincy Adams, or

ress an emotion even of surprise or of regret that it ben thought necessary thus to invade the sanctity honored grave where the illustrious statesman who is recently passed the gates of death was sleeping. In ot of New England by residence, education, or at and there were reasons enough why I should a midure in silence a pain that I shared with so many countrymen. But I then determined that when ampest of popular passion that was then raging in a mantry should have passed by, I would claim a heart gire, not to defend or vindicate the sentiments which cannot from Michigan had thus severely consured, if. Adams himself had referred them, together thall his actions and opinions concerning slavery, not is tribunal, or even to the present time, but to that the leage which gathers and records the impartial and tage which gathers and records the impartial and sate judgment of mankind, but to show how just and fous he had been in his public career towards all the pers of this Confederacy, and how devoted to the a of the States and to the aggrandizement of this repolic. I am thankful that the necessity for performing hat duty has passed by, and that the statesman of Qu cy has, earlier than I hoped, received his vindication and has received it too at the hands of him from whim it was justly due—the accuser himself. I regret this, that the vindication was not as generously

ony this, that the vindication was not as generously as it as effectually made.

There are two propositions arising out of our interests in and around the Gulf of Mexico which are admitted by a our statesmen. One of them is, that the safety of the Southern States requires a watchful jealousy of the resence of European Powers in the southern portions of an North American continent; and the other is, that the endency of commercial and political events invites the Inited States to assume and exercise a paramount influence in the effaire of the netions situated in this hemigovernment, "that we would not consent to the diameter at Paris, to be many ican Minister at Paris, and the postion constitutes to many ican Minister at Paris, to be many ican Minister and the postion constitutes to many ican Minister and the postion const

any European Power; and, while existing rights should be respected, the salety and interest of the United States require them to announce that no future colony or dominion shall, with their consent, be planted or established in any part of the North

This is what is called, here and elsewhere, the Monroe

doctrine, so far as it involves re-colonization.

John Quincy Adams and John C. Calhoun were then members, chief members, of Monroe's Administration. John Quincy Adams afterwards acknowledged that he was the author of that doctrine or policy; and John C. Cal-houn, on the 15th of May, 1848, in the Senate, testified on that point fully. A Senator had related an alleged conversation, in which Mr. Adams was represented as having said that three memorable propositions contained in that message, of which what I have quoted was one, had originated with himself. Mr. Calhoun replied, that Mr. Adams, if he had so stated, must have referred to only the one proposition concerning recolonization, (the one now in question.) and then added as follows: "As respects that, his (Mr. Adams's) memory does not differ from mine. * * It originated entirely with Mr. Adams."—App. Cong. Globe, 1847 - 8, p. 631.

Thus much for the origin of the Monroe doctrine, or recolonization. Now let we then retained to the monroe doctrine.

Thus much for the origin of the Monroe doctrine, or re-colonization. Now, let us turn to the position of John Quincy Adams concerning national jealousy of the designs of European Powers upon the Island of Cuba. The recent revelations of our diplomacy on that subject begin with the period when that statesman presided in the Department of State. On the 17th December, 1822, Mr. Adams informed Mr. Forsyth, then American Minister in Spain, that "the Island of Cuba had excited much attention, and had become of 'eep interest to the American Union;" and, referring to reported rival designs of France and Great Britain upon that Island, instructed him to make known to Spain "the sentiments of the United States, which were favorable to the continuance of Cuba in its connexion with Spain." On the 28th of April, 1823, Mr. Adams thus instructed Mr. Nelson, the successor of Mr.

nally, and so far really dependant upon Spain, that she yet possesses the power of transferring her own dominion over them to others. These islands, from their local positions, are them to others. These islands, from their local positions, are natural appendages to the North American continent; and one of them, Cuba, almost in sight of our shores, from a multitude of considerations, has become an object of transcendent importance to the commercial and political interests of our Union. Its commanding position, with reference to the Gulf of Mexico and the West India seas; the character of its population; its situation midway between our Southern coast and the island of St. Domingo: its safe and capacious harbor of the Havana, fronting a long line of our shores destitute of the capacity furnishing the supplies and seeding the returns of a Mr. DIXON. I hope the Senator will withdran that commerce immensely profitable and meeting the returns of a commerce immensely profitable and mutually beneficial give it an importance in the sum of our national interests with ave notice the other day that he intended to make the commerce immensely profitable and mutually beneficial give it an importance in the sum of our national interests with Mr. SEWARD. The honorable Senator from Kentucky gave notice the other day that he intended to move to refer the resolutions before as to a committee, with instructions. Those instructions I should like to see before I address the Senate. I therefore withdraw my motion, and yleid the floor to him for the purpose of moving that they be printed.

Mr. DIXON. When this subject was last before the Senate, I gave notice that I should, at the proper time, move to refer the resolutions offered by the Senator from Mew Hampshire, to the Committee on Foreign Relations, with the following instructions, which I now present to the Senate, and ask to have printed:

I. I. That the said committee be instructed to examine the treaty concluded at Washington on the 4th day of July, 1850, between her Majesty the Queen of Great Britain, by her Minister Plenipotentiary, Sir Henry L. Bulwer, and the Government of the United States, by John M. Clayton, Secretary of State, and ascertain whether the Government of the United States, by John M. Clayton, Secretary of State, and ascertain whether the Government of the treaty concluded at Washington on the 4th day of July, 1850, between her Majesty the Queen of Great Britain, since the ready concluded a Washington on the 4th day of July, 1850, between her Majesty the Queen of Great Britain, since the ready concluded at Washington on the 4th day of July, 1850, between her Majesty the Queen of Great Britain, since the ready of the continuary, since the continuary, since the continuary of the provisions thereof, by the establishment of any colonial government, the construction of fortifications in Central America, or otherwise; and the thyre proper the facts in the facts in connexion therewise; and the thyre proper the facts to the continuary of the country.

2d. That said committee inquire and report whether or not the country.

2d. That said committee inquire and report whether or not the country.

2d. That said committee inquire and report whether or not the provisions of the said treaty, or o

these words:

Re it resolved, &c. That the United States do hereby declare that "the American continents, by the free and independent condition which they have assumed and maintain, are henceforth not to be considered as subjects for future colonization by any European Power." And while "existing rights should be respected," and will be by the United States, they owe it to their own "safety and interests" "to announce, as they now do, that no future European colony or dominion shall, with their consent, be planted or established on any part of the North American continent." And should the attempt be made, they thus deliberately declare that it will be viewed as an act originating in motives regardless of their "interests and their safety," and which will leave them free to adopt such measures as an independant nation may justly adopt in

In bringing together these actions of John Quinc Adams in 1822, and of the Senator from Michigan in 1858, and placing them in juxtaposition in the history of the Senate, I have done all that the Senator from Michigan seems to have left undone to vindicate the departed tatesman from the censures leaped upon him by the living one in 1850.

living one in 1850.

I proceed to consider the resolutions thus offered by the Senator from Michigan.

The honorable Senator from New Hampshire offers an amendment, as a condition of his vote, in these words: And be it further resolved, That while the United States, it And be it further resolved. That while the United States, in like manner, disclaim any designs upon Canada inconsistent with the laws of nations, and with their duties to Great Britain, they consider it due to the vast importance of the subject to make known, in this rolemn manner, that they should view all efforts on the part of any other Power to procure possession, either peaceably or foreibly, of that Province, (which, as a nayal or military position, must, under circumstances easy to be foreseen, become dangerous to their Northern boundary, and to the lakes,) as unfriendly acts directed against them, to be resisted by all the means in their power.

from which we obtained relief only through the war of 1812, and the subsequent emancipation of the Spanish colonies on this continent, and their organization as free and independent Republics. Sir, I am willing, on the demand of the Senator from Michigan, or of any other leader, and without any demand from any leader, to declare myself opposed, radically opposed—opposed at all times, now, henceforth, and forever—opposed, at the risk of all hazards and consequences, to any design of any State or States on this continent, or any where else, which may, hazards and consequences, to any design of any State or States on this continent, or any where else, which may, by possibility, result in reproducing those evils—the greatest which could befall this country, short of that regreatest of all, to which they would open the way, the subversion of our own hard-won independence, and the returning dominion of some European Power over ourselves. I shall therefore vote for these resolutions, if it is shall please the Senate to come to decisive action upon them, and I shall vote for re-affirming and maintaining the principles of John Quincy Adams, as defined in the Monroe doctrine, and in his policy in regard to Cuba, at all times, and under all circumstances whatsoever.

But, while thus expressing my devotion to those principles, I cannot too strongly express myself against the manner is which they have been brought in issue here on this occasion. The issue is made at a fine, and under circumstances, which render it inevitable that we must fail, signally fail, in maintaining the great principles which it involves.

which it involves.

The issue is raised at the wrong time. We are than half way through a session constitutionally limited to ninety days, and engaged with vast and various sub-jects which cannot be disposed of without long and most liscursive debate.
I think the issue is raised in a wrong way. Practically

discursive debate.

I think the Issue is raised in a wrong way. Practically, and by custom, the President of the United States holds the initiative of measures affecting foreign relations. The President now in the palace will go out in thirty days, and his sanction, even if we had it, would therefore be of no value. But even that sanction, such as it would be, is withheld—and, I must confess, rightly withheld. The people have elected a new President, who is just ready to enter the palace, and upon whom the responsibilities of the conduct of foreign relations, for four years at least, must rest. Not only do we not know what his opinions on this question are, but our action would anticipate the publication of those opinions, and embarrass—is it too strong an expression to say, factiously embarrass—tis it too strong and eministration.

Moreover, we are not only required to advance in this matter without the light that Executive exposition might throw upon our path, but we are required to proceed without the aid or advice of the committee to whom the care of foreign relations has been confided by the Senate, and, as there is reason to believe, in opposition to their deliberate judgment.

their deliberate judgment.

Again, it results from the very nature of the case that

Again, it results from the very nature of the case that a majority for the resolutions cannot be obtained, either in the Senate, or in the Congress, or in the country.

The principles involved in the resolutions have become a tradition among the American People, and on acknowledged occasions they would act upon them as traditions, vigorously and with unanimity. On the other hand, the Americans are a practical people, engrossed with actual business affairs, and they will not act upon abstract principles, however approved, unless there be a necessity, or at least an occasion. So it has happened with the Monroe doctrine, or re-colonization, and with the national policy concerning Cuba. They are thirty years old; they are generally accepted, and yet, not only have they never been affirmed by Congress, but Congress has refused to affirm them, solely for the reason that there was no pressing necessity, no particular occasion, for such an Americans are a practical people, engrossed with actual business affairs, and they will not act upon abstract principles, however approved, unless there be a necessity, or at least an occasion. So it has happened with the Monroe doctrine, or re-colonization, and with the national policy concerning Cuba. They are thirty years old; they are generally accepted, and yet, not only have they are generally accepted, and yet, not only have they fused to affirm them, solely for the reason that there was no pressing necessity, no particular occasion, for such an affirmation. Whenever a necessity or an occasion arises, it produces a popular sentiment or passion. The Northern States are content now; they do not fear re-colonization, and do not want Cuba. The Southern States are content; they do not now desire political excitement, and they are not prepared for any thing that may involve the nation in war. It is not to be denied, also, that the recent unwise and unnecessary exposition of our diplomatic correspondence through the passes of the same of the continents are sure to grow by peace. A war between the two continents would be a war involving not merely a trial which was the strongest, but the integrity of our Republic. Before such a war shall come I want to see Canada transferred from her false position in Europe to her true position on this continent, Texas peopled tike Massachusett, the interior of the continent cultivated like Ohio, and Oregon and California not only covered like New York with forts and arsenals and docks and navy-yards, but grappled fast to New York and Washington by an iron chain that stretches its links through the passes of the Sierra Nevada and the Rocky Mountains.

The Senator tells us that the question of the acquisition of Cuba may be upon us to morrow, and may not be upon us for twenty-five years. That is to say, it stands now, so far as we can define the continents would be a war involving not merely a trial which was the strongest, but the integrity of our Republic. Before such a war sh content; they do not now desire political excitement, and they are not prepared for any thing that may involve the nation in war. It is not to be denied, also, that the recent unwise and unnecessary exposition of our diplomatic correspondence throughout a period of thirty years, concerning the island of Cuba, is regarded as having created embarrassments which only the lapse of some time can re-

The Senator from Michigan seems to be aware of the difficulties, and therefore he labors to show that there is a necessity, or at least an occasion for action. But he fails expiration of the longer period.

Mr. President, let us survey our ground carefully and the fails of the longer period.

think she has just as much as we have, and no more. We are of the same stock, and have the common passion of a common race for dominion. But the country will be unable to discover that the recent events show any aggressi sions on her part which constitute an occasion for an af-

firmance of the Monroe doctrine by Congress.

And now, secondly, as to Cuba What has Great Britain done? Nothing but just what we have done. She has sent armed ships to prevent invaders from revolutionizing the island, and so severing it from its ancient connexion with Spain. We have done the same. She has also proposed to enter into an agreement with us, that neither will acquire Cuba, or suffer others to acquire it. We have declined. The natural conclusion would be, that she was more forbearing than we. But the Senator avoids this by charging that the proposition was insincerely and hy-pocritically made on her part. British writers were be-fore him in making that charge against us, founded on our voluntary revelations of our own diplomacy in regard to Cuba. I am too American to confess their charge to

with their consent, be planted or established on any part of the North American continent." And should the attempt be made, they thus deliberately declare that it will be viewed as and to riginating in motives regardless of their "interests and their safety," and which will leave them free to adopt such measures as an independant nation may justly adopt in defence of its rights and its honor.

**Asia be Warther resolved, That while the United States discinimany designs upon the island of Cuba, inconsistent with the laws of nations and with their duties to Spain, they consider it due to the vast importance of the subject to make known in this solemn manner that they should view all efforts on the part of any other Power to procure possession, whether peaceably or forcibly, of that island, which, as a naval or military position, might, under circumstances easy to be foreseen, become dangerous to their Southern coast, to the Gulf of Mexico, and to the mouth of the Mississippi, as unfriendly acts, directed against them, to be resisted by all the means in their power.

In bringing together these actions of Lab.

With their consent, be planted or established on any part of the North American to confess their charge to Great Britain for mere retalisation.

What has France done by way of re-colonization? Nothing. A French adventure, Count Boulbon, has attempted to revolutionize the Mexican State of Sonora, and failed. There is not a word of evidence to connect the French Government or people with that mevement. And for all that French newspapers here or in Paris may say, we know full well that just as fast as the Mexican States for all that French newspapers here or in Paris may say. We know full well that just as fast as the Mexican States on the provent on the part of any other Function.

States. Nor has France interposed, to keep it in the possession of Spain.

So much for the acts of European Powers on the subjects of colonization and Cuba.

What remains of the Senator say.

merit grave consideration. It consists, first, of ominous articles in newspapers. But even we, the most newspaperloving nation in the world, make our designs and policy known, not through the newspapers, but by public acts and official agents; and France and Great Britain do the same. The press speaks on all occasions, but for itself-always. No wise and calm statesman in either country feels himself compromised by what the press may assu to speak for or against him, much less does either Government acknowledge any necessity for avowing or disavowing what the press may allege. The language of the press of any country, therefore, even if it were general, would not warrant national action by any other Government— much less would that language warrant such action when it was spoken by only one out of a thousand or five thou-

sand journals.

Secondly, the Senator from Michigan invokes our attention to what Lord George Bentinek has said in the Britention to what Lord George Bentines has said, and tish Parliament. Well, sir, that is important, what an English lord has said, and said in Parliament, too. That must be looked into. Well, what did Lord George Bentinek say? Sir, he said very angry things—very furious things—indeed, very ferocious things. Prepare yourself to hear them, sir. Lord George Bentinck did say, in so to hear them, sir. Lord George Bentinck did say, in so many words, and in Parliament, too! what I am going to repeat. His Lordship did day that "He quite agreed with Captain Pilkington."

Heights of Abraham, in the same year, to bring her in. Scott, in 1814, poured out his blood at Chippewa to bring her in. If the proposition shall fail, I shall lament it as a repudiation by the Senate of a greater national interest than any other distinct one involved in this debate; but I shall, nevertheless, vote for the resolutions of the Senat of a greater national interest than any other distinct one involved in this debate; but I shall, nevertheless, vote for the resolutions of the Senat of a greater national interest than any other distinct one involved in this debate; but I shall, nevertheless, vote for the resolutions of the Senat of a greater national interest of the Senat of a greater national internal dissentions among ourselves, I nevertheless yield up my full assent to the convictions expressed by John equincy Adams, that this nation can never safely allow the island of Cuba nong ourselves, I nevertheless yield up my full assent to the convictions expressed by John equincy Adams, that this nation can never safely allow the island of Cuba to pass under the dominion of any over that is already, or can become, a formidable rival or enemy; and cannot safely consent to the restoration of colonial relations between any portions of this continent, and the monarchies of Europe.

The re-establishment of such relations would of course reproduce in a greater or less degree the commercial and political embarrassments of our relations with other and independent Republics. Sir, I am willing, on the demand of the Senator of th and so not a real lord at all. Thirdly, that Lord George Bentinck was in a very harmless minority in Parliament when he uttered them, it being indeed unknown that he had any confederate in his wicked designs but Captain Pilkington. Fourthly, that this alleged speech was brought before the Senate and the American people in 1848, by a late member of this body, whose constitutional proclivity to wit and humor was so great as to justify the belief that the speech, like the Donalson and Greer correspondence, was a hoax, (Mr. W.) Fifthly, that Lord George Bentinck died some years ago, and Capt. Pilkington not having been heard of for a long time, there is a strong presumption that the loss of his noble friend and

strong presumption that the loss of his noble friend and chivalrous ally has thrown him into a decline. The tone of the speech of the Senator from Louisiana The tone of the speech of the Senator from Louisiana (Mr. Soule) was one of complaint against the Administration of our Government, and against France and Great Britain. The Administration was censured for austerity towards the associates of Lopez. But it could have protected or vindicated them consistently with law and treaties, or it could not. If it could, then censures are too ties, or it could not. If it could, then censures are too lenient; if it could not, they are altogether unjust. Since the day when the gifted, ingenuous, and gentle Andre was executed on a gallows as a spy, by order of Washington, we have known the painful delicacy of executing general laws upon persons whose motions and bearings justly excited our respect and compassion. The Senator's sympathy in this case is right. It is only the perversion of it to awaken prejudice against the Administration that I condemn. France and Great Britain are said to have menaced us by saying in their correspondence that a renewal of such an expedition as that of Lopez might endanger the peace of the nations. No such expedition can be undertaken of which it can be certainly affirmed that it will not in its consequences lead to a war. I think, therefore, that none but a jaundiced eye, such as does not belong to the President, or to the Secretary of does not belong to the President, or to the Secretary of State, could have discovered the insult thus complained of, and therefore they may be excused for having received it in silence.

The Senator shows us that six or seven years ago Spain

herself meditated the establishment of a monarchy in New Grenada, and only one hundred and forty years ago a proposition was made to the British Ministry to privately seize the Island of Cuba in a time of peace and friendship. These facts would have been pertinent, perhaps, if the Senator had advised us to seize the Havana. But I understood him on the contrary to discountenance not understood him, on the contrary, to discountenance not only conquest, but even purchase, and to agree with those of us who propose to wait for the fruit to ripen, although he has been at some pains to show us that it may rot in the ripening. Indeed, Mr. President, the Senator's argument seemed to me a meandering stream that visited and touched all the banks of controversy, but glided away from them, and especially avoided ploughing

into the depths of any conclusion.

Its tendency, I think, was to exasperate the American People against the European Powers, and to irritate them. I cannot sympathize with such a spirit. I would submit to no real wrong, and justify no oppression or tyranny committed by them. But, on the other hand, I will seek no

nove.

The Senator from Michigan seems to be aware of these lifficulties, and therefore he labors to show that there is maturely generated, will be sure to pass off before the

altogether in showing any new occasion, which, to the apprehension of the Senate and the country, is equivalent to failing to show any necessity or occasion. What are his facts? 1st. In regard to great Britain and re-colonization. The grasping spirit shown by Great Britain in the Maine border question, and in the Oregon question. The Monroe doctrine, as expounded by Monroe himself, declared that existing rights were to be respected; Great Britain asserted that her claims in those cases were existing rights. Those questions have been settled, rightly or wrongly, and have passed away. What more? The British claim on the Mosquito coast? That, also, is settled by treaty. The organization of the Bay of Islands as a distinct colony? That, too, falls within the subjectmatter of a treaty. In each of these cases Great British has violated treaty stipulations, or she has not. If she has not, then there is no cause for any action; if she has, then the remedy is not an affirmance of the Monroe doctrine, but direct protest or war.

I give Great Britain small credit for moderation. I think she has just as much as we have, and no more. We are of the same stock, and have the country will be unable to discover that the recent ovents show any aggressions on her part which constitute an occasion for an afsence of the same stock, and have the country will be unable to discover that the recent ovents show any aggressions on her part which constitute an occasion for an afsence of the same stock, and have the country will be unable to discover that the recent ovents show any aggressions on her part which constitute an occasion for an afsence of the same stock of the longer period. Mr. President, let us survey our ground carefully and arction, like all other human action, is regulated by laws higher than the caprice or policy of Princes, Kings, and States. There is a time for colonization of the American hemisphere by European Powers was the work of the 16th and 17th centuries; the breaking up of colonial dependence, The colonization she want of more American colonies, to be severed from her

as soon as matured? Great Britain, too, lost in the American Revolution all her American possessions but a remnant. She keeps the remnant from pride, not interest, as Spain does Cuba. remant from pride, not interest, as Spain does Cuba. What does she want of more American colonies, to draw upon the home treasury for defence and support, and to become independent as soon as they shall become strong? Canada is only a nominal colony or dependency. Great Britain yet retains Canada, only by yielding to her what she denied to us—fiscal independence.

And now, what does France or Great Britain want of Cuba? It is a slave colony. They have abolished slavery in all their possessions. Should either of them obtain that island, the first act of government there must be the abolition of slavery. The abolition of slavery, too, must be made with compensation, and the compensation must be drawn from the home treasury. Will either of them take Cuba at such a cost? And what would Cuba, with-

be drawn from the home treasury. Will either of them take Cuba at such a cost? And what would Cuba, without slavery, be worth of those Powers? Let their experience in the West Indies answer. Cuba, without slavery, would be valueless to any European State. Cuba, with slavery, can belong to no European State but Spain. Cuba, without slavery, would be worthless to any Power but the United States, and John Quincy Adams was right; Cuba, either with or without slavery, gravitates towards and will ultimately fall into the American Union.

What, then! has France ceased to be ambitious, and has Great Britain adopted the policy that Augustus Cæsar bequeathed to Rome, to forbear from extending the bounds of empire? Not at all. France and England are unchanged. I do not know that as yet they have learned that their power cannot be renewed or restored in America. But I do know that they will find it out when they try to renew and restore it again; and therefore all the alarms raised by the Senator from Michigan pass by me like the idle wind. The Monroe doctrine was a right one—the policy was a right one, not because it would require to be enforced by arms, but because it was well-timed. It was the result of a sagacious discovery of the tendency of the age. It will prevail if you affirm it. It will equally prevail if you neglect to affirm it hereafter as you have refused to do heretofore. As a practical question, therefore, it has ceased to be. It is obsolete. You are already the great Continental Power of America. But does that content you? I trust it dees not. You want the commerce of the world, which is he empire of the world. This is to be looked for not on the American lakes, nor on the Atlantic coast, nor on the Baltic, nor on the Atlantic ocean, but on the Pacific ocean, and its islands and centinents. Be not over-confident. Disregard not France, and England, and Russia. Watch then with jealousy, and baffle their designs against you. But look for those great rivals where they are to be found—on those contiand England, and Russin. Watch then with jealousy, and baffle their designs against you. But look for those great rivals where they are to be found—on those continents and seas in the east where the prize which you are contending with them for is to be found. Open up a bigh-way through your country from New York to San Francisco. Put your domain under cultivation, and your ten thousand wheels of manufacture in motion. Multiply your ships, and send them forth to the east. The nation